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SOME NATIONAL GOODS IN 1871: THE REBOZO¹

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The history of *rebozos* and *jaspe* (*ikat*) in Mexico still presents many enigmas and fertile field for research. Public and private collections in Mexican and foreign museums preserve a variety of *rebozos* from the mid-18th through the 20th centuries. However, it has been complicated to correlate these extant pieces with exact places of production and dates. Other sources such as written accounts and images focus mostly on their social uses, sometimes places of production or sale are merely mentioned yet techniques and designs are the information least dealt with. Virginia Davis mentions this problem while analyzing the Frederick Church collection at the Olana Estate in the following terms, “the lack of a gamut of authenticated examples for each makes attribution difficult.”²

With the purpose of providing new clues for the historiography of the *rebozo de jaspe* (*ikat*) and other variants, and contribute to deciphering a part of the puzzle, this essay is based on a fragment of a chart published in the monthly trade journal *El Correo del Comercio* in October 1871,³ under the title *Efectos Nacionales* (National Goods).⁴

Rebozos de seda tejidos en olate...	uno	0 0	a 17 0	E
id. id. con trama de algodón...	uno	0 0	a 0 0	NH
id. id. id. mejor clase.....	uno	0 0	a 9 0	E
id. id. 2 vistas tej en telar.....	uno	0 0	a 9 0	E
id de hilo de bolita corrientes....	uno	0 0	a 3 6	ES
id. id. del Valle.....	uno	4 4	a 5 4	ES
id. id. id. mejores.....	uno	8 0	a 12 0	ES
id. id. término medio.....	uno	0 0	a 0 0	NH
id. de hilo núm. 200.....	uno	20 0	a 25 0	E

¹ Coordinator, Ruth D. Lechuga Center for Folk Art Studies / Franz Mayer Museum and Coordinación de Investigación de la Escuela de Artesanías / INBA. Mexico. This essay is based on my presentation “Algunos Efectos Nacionales en 1871: El Rebozo” presented at the 2^o Encuentro Nacional El Arte del Jaspe y el Rebozo, Franz Mayer Museum, July 29, 2015. Due to space restrictions, in this essay we will not go into a detailed history of *ikat* or *rebozos* and other garments woven with the *ikat* technique, known as *jaspe* or *labor* in Mexico. The reader is remitted to other published sources. I especially thank Virginia Davis for her in depth studies on reserve dyes and with Hillary Steel for their good spirit, excellent advice and prodding.

² Virginia Davis, “Frederic Edwin Church's Acquisitions of Mexican Textiles,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (SPRING-SUMMER 1997), pp. 97-109. Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Bard Graduate Center. Accessed. November 17, 2013. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40662584>. Together with his wife Church travelled to Mexico from 1887 until 1900. There are eight *rebozos* in his collection. According to V. Davis “four are *jaspe*, two are woven on jacquard loom as an imitation of *jaspe*, another one jacquard loom woven with a floral pattern, and finally, one with stripes characteristic of Michoacan.

³ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, Director of the Historical Research Center of the Iberoamericana University, Campus Torreón, for having sent me this valuable information in July 2007.

⁴ The key to availability is “E” Escaso (Scarce), “ES” Existencia Suficiente (Sufficient Stock), “NH”, No Hay (None). Also note that they are sold by the piece. Prices presented in ranges likely refer to *rebozo* sizes.

Nine types of *rebozos* are mentioned, each one with a brief description of the materials, techniques and/or production locations, their availability in the market and their price. We present documentary information to back up our attribution proposals, as well as discussing their implications. However, it is fundamental and vital to note that none of the nine descriptions in the chart uses any word that suggests that they are made with the “jaspe” (ikat) technique, even when practically all but one of the cases it is inferred that they are.

1. *Rebozos de seda tejidos en otate* (1. Silk *rebozos* woven on *otate* [loom])

For the first *rebozo* let us begin by analyzing *otate*. It comes from the *nahuatl* word *otatl*, a type of reed or cane. *Otate* is botanically *Guadua amplexifolia*, a type of bamboo or gramineous plant that is particularly resistant.⁵ The backstrap-loom *rebozo* weavers of Tenancingo, State of Mexico, still refer to these *rebozos* as *otate loom* woven and loom parts are named in *nahuatl*. Though *matlazintec* in origin, Aztecs dominated the region from 1474-1550 A.D. The term also differentiates them from those woven on the treadle-loom, introduced there in the late 1930s according to Don Evaristo Borboa and Adolfo García Díaz in personal communication in 2004. The loom parts used in Santa María del Río, renowned silk *rebozo* center founded by Otomí and Guachichil Indians are also *nahuatl* terms, however *otate* is not used, the upper beam is *coaxomitl* and the lower beam is *mancuerna*, a Spanish term for a single wooden piece with indentations.⁶

The use of the backstrap loom in middle-America is well documented and dates back about 3,500 years, complex weaving techniques were achieved, yet reserve-dye fragments found to date are only batik and plangi. The practice of ikat is still one of the greatest enigmas and hopefully there will be a breakthrough to prove it was known. The loom and prehispanic textile technology survived the Spanish Conquest until the present among many rural indigenous people. European treadle-loom and its tools introduced in the 16th Century dominated the cities and towns, together with the *obraje* organization of production.

Let us briefly look at silk and sericulture in Mexico at mid-19th Century. At the end of the complete chart (not shown here) there is an item “Seda torcida mexicana por libra, Existencia Suficiente (ES)”, that is, Mexican plied silk by the pound, 110 to 114 pesos, Sufficient Stock, that could be related to the *rebozos* being analyzed. French and Mexican entrepreneurs were promoting sericulture as early as the 1830s with Michoacán and Oaxaca the focus of various companies between 1846 to 1868. In Mexico City in 1869 Francoz and Labat were producing silk and weaving it, and in 1871 Francoz and Prattle established the Las Delicias *Rebozo* factory. Perhaps they were selling silk skeins, but that is not clear, nor where the silk backstrap loom weavers described in the chart were from or where they were sourcing it.⁷

One interesting region that requires more in-depth studies relates to Father Junipero Serra, originally from the Balearic Islands, introducing silk-breeding and spinning in the Mission of

⁵ <http://www.verarboles.com/Otate/otate.html> Accessed May, 20, 2016.

⁶ Paloma Quijano Castelló, “El *rebozo* y la Taracea en Santa María del Río”, in *Santa María del Río: un pueblo de artesanos*, Fondo Cultural BANCEN, 1990, 74.

⁷ Rebeca Vanesa García Corzo, *Entramados de la seda en México a fines del siglo XIX y principios del XX*. (Tesis de Doctorado, Universidad de Oviedo, 2011) Accessed June 14, 2016. digibuo.uniovi.es/dspace/bitstream/10651/13416/2/TD_rebecavanesagarciaorzo.pdf.

Jalpan, Queretaro in 1751. According to Jacques Soustelle the Otomí women from Tolimán would purchase silk there to weave *quechquémitls* and *rebozos*, which they took together with silk packs to sell in other places including San Luis Potosí.⁸ These items, together with sashes were ikat woven with silk or cotton until the 1960s, and wool and cotton ikat and trikit items were woven in neighboring Zimapán, Huichapan, Ixmiquilpan, and Vizarron and also died out about the same time.

The backstrap loom silk weaving center with the longest extant tradition is Santa Maria del Rio in San Luis Potosí (eastern Mexico), a candidate together with Tolimán for the production of these kinds of rebozos. It is surprising that when Villaseñor y Sánchez travelled through Santa María del Río and his home town of San Luis Potosí before publishing *Theatro Americano* in 1746, he makes no mention whatsoever to *rebozo* weaving or silk breeding. There is a document from 1764, considered the first written account for Santa Maria rebozos, whereby the great esteem for these by wealthy women of San Luis led them to drape them over balconies together with other fancy damask cloth for a procession.⁹ Could the tradition have been introduced later? Santa María has lived through numerous crisis through decades dealing with silk availability until a government silk import program was introduced in the 1970s and continues to this day.

Analyzing our chart, in 1871 the backstrap woven silk *rebozos* were worth \$170 pesos – the second most valuable in the chart, and they were Scarce (E). By comparing this description to the *rebozos* that follow directly in the chart, we can only speculate that either they are 100% made out of silk (warp and weft), or the warp is silk and the unseen weft is cotton, due to rebozos being a warp-faced fabric. This latter type is now woven in Santa María del Río, San Luis Potosí as the all silk ones woven on the backstrap loom reportedly tend to fray.¹⁰



Rebozo, anonymous, XVIII-XIX Century, jaspe (ikat), silk, backstrap loom woven,
Robert Everts Collection/Franz Mayer Museum, Photo Michel Zabé

⁸ Jacques Soustelle, *La famille otomí-pame du mexique central*, pp.91-94, in José Tomás de Cuellar, “Santa Maria del Río”, *Santa María del Río: un pueblo de artesanos*, Fondo Cultural Bancen, 1990, p.63.

⁹⁹ Primo Feliciano Velázquez, *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí*, t.1. p.3346 cited In Paloma Quijano *op.cit.*, pp.61-62.

¹⁰ *Ibid* Paloma Quijano, p. 74b

2. and 3. Rebozos de seda tejidos en otate con trama de algodón y Rebozo de seda tejido en otate con trama de algodón mejor clase (2. Silk *rebozos* woven on otate [loom] with a cotton weft) and (3. Silk *rebozos* woven on otate [loom] with a cotton weft, better class).

These rebozos were also woven on a backstrap loom using silk warp and cotton weft in comparison to the previous all silk ones. There was no price for number 2 as there were “None” (NH) in existence. For number 3 the value is \$90 pesos and its availability was “Scarce” (E). This value is the fourth highest in the chart, shared with another silk rebozo, the fourth in the chart, which we will describe further down. This way, by reporting that limited production still exists for the “better class” we can infer that wealthier women were still investing in luxurious rebozos, creating a special market, possibly linked to the heirloom value placed on them.



Rebozo silk, cotton and metallic thread. Anonymous, 18th-19th Century.
Jaspe (ikat) warp stripes, embroidered motifs. Braided and plied fringe
Robert Everts Collection/Franz Mayer Museum, Photo Michel Zabé

Various sources mention as of 1742 certain rebozos in great demand and highly esteemed *throughout the viceroyalty* made in the mining region of Sultepec and Temascaltepec situated in the southeast of the present state of Mexico.¹¹ They were woven on a backstrap loom by indigenous women of Matlazinc origin who by then spoke nahuatl (mexicano), and by local mestizo women of a higher position. The authors coincide in their description that these cloths were made with a mix of cotton and silk, embellished with metallic threads, produced especially for markets of Guanajuato, Queretaro, the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (or Santa Fe Trail) and other places. They had a great reputation for high quality, particularly the finest ones due to the amount of labor and costly materials.

A director of the Real Alcabala (Royal Excise) in Zacamulpa considered in 1802 that their design and embroidery was coarse. To our advantage he points out one of the salient features for identification, that they are embroidered. Other authorities considered this was not an industry as no formal looms or workshops existed and no excise tax could be levied due to the Crown protecting the Indians weaving in *telares sueltos*, informal looms. Salvucci describes other sources that point out that production was individual but one woman would take various

¹¹ José Antonio Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro Americano* T.I, (1746) Universidad Autónoma de México, México, 2005 pp.270-271; Peter Gerhard, *México en 1742*, p.25, in Álvaro Ochoa S., “Sultepec, Pueblos, Barrios, Haciendas y Cuadrillas en el Siglo XVIII”, in *Sultepec en el siglo XIX*, Brígida von Mentz, Coordinadora. El Colegio Mexiquense y UIA, Departamento de Historia. México, 1989, p.31; Richard J. Salvucci, *Textiles y Capitalismo en México: una historia económica de los obreros, 1539-1840*, Alianza Editorial, 1992, pp.38-40.

women's rebozos, go out to sell them and share the profits upon her return. Peddlers also came through and took rebozos to the markets. As for their price they were sold by the dozen and depending on quality fluctuated between 60-600 pesos (50 pesos each for the finest), four to 10 times more than the loom woven rebozos from Puebla.

A later mention from 1865, closer to the date of the chart, came from a survey that was sent by the Minister of the Interior to all the Districts during Maximilian's short-lived Empire (1864-1867). Sultepec's answer was "the products of the region are the weaving of rebozos which are sold in Toluca and Mexico..."¹² points to continuous production at least one hundred twenty years later.

This brings us back to the 1871 chart. There are a series of rebozos in collections that fit the description quite well. I am not thinking of the exquisite rebozos embellished with embroidered scenes, but wearable, elegant ones with details. The rebozo in the photo above is from the Franz Mayer's Everts Collection. Notice the ikat warp stripes with up to three colors on each warp tie. The American Museum of Natural History has a "sash" (most likely a third of a rebozo that was cut, as there is only one selvage and the other extreme has a rolled edge) (AMNH 65/5192), some of the warps are also cotton, not just the weft, they have thin metallic warp threads and then embroidered motifs alternating metallic with silk thread. Most have the same kind of triangular fringes with tassels and tufts.

4. Rebozo de seda 2 vistas tej en telar (Silk *rebozos*, loom woven, double-view)

The likely identification of this fourth rebozo on the list, has to do with a handful of 19th century rebozos have found in collections that upon close study point to what I am proposing as this style.¹³ They are actually not made with the ikat technique, although an untrained eye might think they are. A technical description includes: thin warp-patterned stripes, with serge woven solid color background stripes in between, and a diagonally knotted fringe. The salient feature is the reversible nature of each side, the design patterns appear black on one side and white on the other, the background also has two contrasting colors, one for each side, the fringe uses the four colors continuing from the warp.

A booklet published in 1851 defends the "invention" of Vicente Munguía, a weaver from the city of Zamora, Michoacán (western Mexico) and his troubles and strategies against industrial theft. By comparing other rebozo weaving techniques we have solid information on three different kinds being produced:

"...in order to achieve designs for the cloth, before Munguia's invention, it was necessary to tie, dye and cut the ties of the warp strips they were a part of...or, as they wove the white cloth of the rebozo, some loose colored threads, independent of the weave and

¹² Laura Pérez R. "Sultepec, sus minas y mineros" in *Sultepec en el siglo XIX*, Brígida von Mentz, Coordinadora. El Colegio Mexiquense y UIA, Departamento de Historia. México, 1989, p. 78.

¹³ The Ruth D. Lechuga Center for Folk Art Studies/Franz Mayer Museum has one, the Acervo de Artes Indígenas/CDI has another and I have identified various in private collections. I want to thank Hillary Steel for pointing out it was not ikat when jointly reviewing one of these rebozos on July 14, 2008, information shared and confirmed afterwards with Virginia Davis.

similar to supplementary embroidery threads would be added; this constitutes a '*falsa*' rebozo."¹⁴



Anonymous. Del origen, uso y bellezas del traje propio de las mejicanas, conocido bajo el nombre de Rebozo; y del grado de perfección que recibió en Zamora, por obra de D. Vicente Munguía a quien el Gobierno de la República otorgó en 1847, cual premio de sus ingeniosos afanes, un Privilegio de diez años, que hubieran querido y quisieran aun privarle la envidia y el bajo interés de sus émulos, por medio de intrigas y de chicana. Guadalajara, imp. de Jesús Camarena, 1851. Accessed April 13, 2013 <http://www.cdigital.dgb.uanl.mx/la/1080019545/1080019545.pdf>

The first description is clearly referring to ikat technique so characteristic of Mexican rebozos, and the second points to a rebozo with warp float designs possibly made with some form of a draw-loom, known in Guatemala as “telar de falsería” a term similar to the one mentioned here.¹⁵ The anonymous author vaguely explains Munguía’s invention, he tells us that the weaver had been working on perfecting this double cloth as far back as 1833 and that he had learned from a foreigner in 1819. He was finally able to secure a 10 year “privilegio” or patent in November of 1847. However Charles Tarel, a French Barcelonnette living in Guadalajara had become interested in rebozos and began his business in 1844. When he saw a Munguía made rebozo he tracked and offered the best workshop officer to come work for him as he wanted to create competition, and production began in March 1847. Munguía sued and won a temporary injunction, yet another French rebozo producer in Mexico City Juan Bautista Francoz then plagiarized Munguía too, was sued and he won again. In the end, Munguía began franchising and charging a fee for rebozos being made with his patent, though he never came to an agreement with Francoz and a sizable lot made in Europe was confiscated in 1852. During this time Munguia-like rebozos were selling for \$20 pesos.¹⁶

Returning to our chart, by 1871 these *rebozos* have a value of \$90 pesos and they are “Scarce” (E). The rebozo from Dr. Ruth D. Lechuga’s collection has a feline and a fleur-de-lis, a truly classic French design. Perhaps it was produced in one of the workshops owned by Tarel or Francoz that continued on, and it seems that they were dying out 20 years later.

¹⁴ Original text is in Spanish translation by author. “Del Origen...”, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵ Marilyn Anderson, *Guatemalan textiles today*, Watson-Guptill Publications, NY, 1978, p.167a

¹⁶ Jaime Olveda, “El monopolio rebocero Guadalajara-Zamora”, in *Relaciones, Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* No. 8, otoño de 1981. Colegio de Michoacán. pp.92-114.



Rebozo, silk, 19th Century, likely derived from Vicente Munguía patent, Woven on a foot loom, warp pattering, double-view, knotted fringe.

Ruth D. Lechuga Center for Folk Art Studies / Franz Mayer Museum, Photos Michel Zabé

5. Rebozos de hilo de bolita corrientes, (5. Cotton-ball thread ordinary rebozos)

Number 5 clearly refers to thread being sold in small balls, as this class of rebozos is ordinary, their cost is the lowest in the chart (\$36 pesos) and the status is ES, Sufficient Stock. The clue here is the probability of English or American cotton being packaged and sold in boxes of 12 small balls each in varying counts, note “bolita” is a diminutive of ball. Through time and perhaps due to association it also points to the origin of ikat rebozos also being referred to as *rebozo de bolita*.¹⁷ Perhaps it is a coincidence or a survival but today the most ordinary ikat rebozos made in Moroleón and Uriangato are referred to as “del 36”.

6. Rebozos de hilo del Valle, 7. Rebozo de hilo del Valle mejores, 8. Rebozo de hilo término medio, (6. Cotton thread rebozos from *The Valley*, 7. Cotton thread rebozos from the Valley, better class, and 8. Cotton thread rebozos medium class).

Numbers 6 and 7 are the only ones to identify a place, albeit vaguely, “del Valle”, that is “from the Valley”. The first fluctuate between \$44 and \$54 and the second, of better quality are \$80 to \$120, this last price the third highest on the list. Differences most likely have to do, firstly with rebozo sizes and then with the thread count, perhaps a 120-140 count (see No. 9 rebozos for further discussion). In both cases they are ES, with Sufficient Stock. There are two historical references to this name. One is the Valley of Santiago, in the state of Guanajuato, part of an important rebozo weaving region including Yuriria, Moroleón, Uriangato, Salamanca and León.¹⁸ What made those from the Valley of Santiago special was the belief that “the dyes were especially fast due to the water used to dye coming from the spring of La Merced.”¹⁹ The second reference corresponds with the Valley of Toluca in the state of Mexico. Elsie McDougall’s careful research notes and collecting in the region 1933-1935 mentions Calimaya, Toluca, Tenango and Tenancingo as important rebozo weaving and distribution centers.

¹⁷ “Bolita” can also refer to the dot effect of small-scale ikat designs, a term used more by sellers and wearers.

¹⁸ There is a group of volcanic pools near the town that could nourish the spring. Rebozo workshops dyed out in Valle de Santiago, Salamanca and León in the 1960-1970s, and are in high risk in the other centers mentioned due to the loss of young men for the ikat process and weaving and young women for the fringes.

¹⁹ Teresa Castelló Yturbide, “El Rebozo,” *Rebozos y Sarapes de México* (Grupo Gutsa: 1989), p.67.

9. Rebozo de hilo núm 200 (9. Rebozo with 200 “number” thread)

Concerning these rebozos they were not only “Scarce” they were also the most expensive in the chart, fluctuating between \$200 and \$250 pesos each. In order to research what this could mean, conversations years back in the 1990s with Don Evaristo Borboa, dean of rebozo weavers in Tenancingo (San Simón de Guerrero, State of Mexico 1926) came to mind. He remembered when 140 and 120 count cotton thread could be obtained (until about 1960) and even 100 count until the 1980’s, and spoke of the almost mythical existence of a 200 count cotton thread having existed to make the finest possible rebozos that could pass through a person’s ring, just as if they were silk, adding wistfully that he would have loved to have some.

Presently the best thread on the market is an 80 count thread available only on special order from the Omega factory in Mexico City and 60 count cotton thread as the staple. The Omega owners verbally mentioned in 2013 that they buy and import “*Supima*” cotton²⁰ from Texas and spin the 80 count thread in their mill. This sent me back to 1996 when I visited Barbados and discovered their pride as the origin of Sea-Island Cotton, dubbed the “finest cotton in the world”. My quest also needed to include cotton species and the importance of *Gossypium barbadense* as the source, as its long fibre allows for a thinner, yet resistant thread.

A couple of visits to the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)²¹ to see their rebozos including the Elsie McDougall documents, rebozo and ikat related objects she collected in the 1930’s would be proof of Don Evaristo’s memories about 200 count cotton thread being used in Tenancingo and “the Valley of Toluca”, as there is a spool of white 200 count thread (65/5177B) and four superfine “doscientos” rebozos with a silk like hand (65/5183-86). Davis says of them “They are made from an English cotton #200. The one with the date 1890 knotted in the fringe has a sett of over 300 epi (65/5183).”²²

Additionally an anonymous private collector in the state of Queretaro showed me two rebozos belonging to her aunts, acquired at the turn of the 20th century, with a family story that once a year peddlers would pass through the town of Colón to offer them, and that they were considered quite esteemed and expensive and only for the wealthy women of the town. Salient characteristics include superficial touch has a silk-like texture, the knotted fringe totally cotton touch.

²⁰ One of various ELS (Extra-long Staple cottons) derived from originally Peruvian or Barbados sources of *Gossypium barbadense*. Imported plants from Barbados as early as 1790 were grown in the “Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina”, a seeming misnomer or an intended deceit as the original Sea Island cotton refers to the Caribbean Isles’. Accessed June 15, 2015. www.beaufort.com/the-history-of-sea-island-cotton.

²¹ Visit made individually on December 19, 2013 and then on May 16, 2014 accompanied by ikat experts Virginia Davis and Hillary Steel. I thank Mary Lou Murillo and Laila Williamson from the AMNH for their invaluable help.

²² Virginia Davis, “The Mexican Jasper (Ikat) Rebozo: comments on its history, significance and prevalence”.

Presented at the Textile Society of America Symposium, 1988. pp.117-121., accessed November 17, 2013. [Digitalcommons.unl.edu/TEXTILESOC/TSA Symposium/630](http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/TEXTILESOC/TSA_Symposium/630),

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1629&context=tsaconf>.



Rebozo, jaspe (ikat), cotton 200 count thread, anonymous, Ca. 1900
Private collection, Photo Marta Turok

Two trips to England in 2014 helped me delve into the history of English cotton spinning and led me to Manchester and Bollington (Cheshire) where fine spinning became a specialization that grew as the demand for finer and finer threads (thinner) progressed as early as the 1820's for hosiery and, curiously, the lace industry. Although there are references to dozens of mills in the whole Manchester region that produced fine threads with 170 to 200-220 counts, it was Waterhouse Mill (Thomas Oliver and Sons 1790-1960) and Clarence Mill (Swindells family 1830-1970) who were partners for about 20 years (1832-ca.1853) where the highest known thread count of 400-420 was produced as of 1862 for Nottingham and Brussels lace-makers for special orders by the English Monarchy among others. The last 200 count thread was produced in 1960 when Waterhouse Mill closed.

"The Sea Island cotton which they bought in Savannah in 1834 is a very good and fine quality *fibre* (sic) used to produce fine yarn, and would not be a common type of business."²³ As mentioned above for rebozo No.5, the cotton thread came in small balls. Further research will allow us to find out mills or companies that were supplying lace-thread to Mexico, dates and where the English mills were sourcing their cotton, Barbados or the "sea-islands off Georgia."²⁴ The final question is who devised and experimented taking this fine lace thread to be used in the finest backstrap-loomed ikat rebozos ever made.

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²³ *Cotton Town: Bollington and the Swindells family in the 19th Century*, Wilmslow Historical Society, Industrial Archaeology Group, first print 1973, reprinted 1986, p. 20.

²⁴ Another lead for the 20th Century sources of spun thread is that in 1898 the firm became a part of the Fine Spinners and Doublers Association, created as a marketing strategy, yet each mill continued using its brand. From 1930-1960 English and American cotton thread was being sold in León, Guanajuato. Credit Alberto Robles Estrella's ongoing research on rebozo making in León, Guanajuato. Personal communication, June 2, 2015.

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